

PEACE LITERATURE OF THE WAR.

John Mez.

MANUFACTURED BY THE
NEW ENGLAND BOOK COMPANY

John May

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The War has brought forth an amazing amount of literature of all kinds. Only six months after the outbreak of the great European struggle the number of books and pamphlets dealing with some aspect of the war, in English alone, had surpassed 2,000. Since then the amount of publications has increased enormously and to-day there are probably over 5,000 books and pamphlets dealing with the present war.

In the following, I have attempted to select that part of this literature which deals with the most important question resulting from the war, namely, *the problem of preventing a repetition of a similar calamity in the future and of establishing permanent peace*. In compiling this bibliography, my desire is not only to enable those who are interested in the growth of the peace movement to follow the development of *constructive pacifist thought*, stimulated by the World War, but also to show that it is *not true*—as many think—that the peace movement is dead.

The complexity of the problem is shown in a striking manner by the diversity of opinions expressed in the peace literature published since the outbreak of the war. The emphasis as to the causes of the war and the final solution of the peace problem is laid upon entirely different standpoints by the various authors. Among the supposed causes of war we find: economic conflict, capitalism, militarism, imperialism, preparedness, the philosophy of force, a lack of international morality, international disorganization and anarchy, greed, racial differences, a false patriotism, the impractical and unscientific methods of conducting international relations, or even the progress of science itself, the fighting instinct, secret diplomacy, etc., etc., and, accordingly, the various authors propose entirely different means for the abolition of war, as for

example: free-trade, socialism, education, arbitration, peace leagues, economic boycott, military force, christianity, international police force, neutralization of the seas, extension of democracy, woman suffrage, a referendum by the people, the "dynamic arts of the theatre" or even the building of hospitals in Japan by the United States government. The majority of these authors agree, however, that war and the military system of the world can and must be done away with. The crystallized opinion of these publications coincides with those principles for which the organized peace movement has stood for more than a hundred years: *the substitution in international relations of law for force*, by some form of agreement between nations, a League of nations, by forming a World-Congress, World-Court and World-Government. By rival military force alone peace cannot be maintained. This has been proved over and over again by history, and this is perhaps the one great lesson of the European war. With the British author, H. N. Brailsford, I believe that "by force and threats we shall never constitute a League that will have the loyalty and devotion of Europe behind it. Its success must depend on the advantages it offers."

To educate the world to a better realization of these advantages—moral and material—has been and always will be the task of the peace movement! *

JOHN MEZ.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

* A previous list of books on this subject has been published in February, 1915: *The War and Peace Problem*, Material for the Study of International Polity by JOHN MEZ. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 407 West 117th Street, New York City. This list will be sent free on application to the Secretary of the American Association of International Conciliation, Postoffice Substation 84, New York, N. Y.

BOOKS.

Adler, Felix.—THE WORLD CRISIS AND ITS MEANING. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1915. 233 p. \$1.50

An elaborate analysis of the causes and effects of the War discussing various aspects involved like Imperialism, Nationalism, Social Reform and ethical development. In one sense Dr. Adler believes science has caused the war: "the machine gun is the companion of the machine loom." The author is rather pessimistic in so far as he sees "no hope for permanent peace at present," but believes that "a new conception among the enlightened classes of all nations will sooner or later be carried into effect."

Angell, Norman.—AMERICA AND THE NEW WORLD STATE. A Plea for American Leadership in International Organization. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915. 305 p. \$1.50

In this book the author of "The Great Illusion" discusses the leading rôle the United States should play after the war in the reconstruction of the world.

—THE WORLD'S HIGHWAY. Some notes on America's relation to Sea Power and non-military sanctions for the law of nations. New York, George H. Doran Company, 1915. 361 p. \$1.50

Discusses a plan to checkmate future wars of aggression by means of economic pressure brought to bear upon the offender. An aggressive nation according to this plan should be cut off from all trade and financial connections with the rest of the world, and the boycott should be made effective by sea-power. The author believes that the mere existence of a worldwide alliance for the purpose of exercising an economic boycott against an aggressive nation would be the best possible preventive of future wars.

Atkins, Gaius Glenn.—THE MAZE OF THE NATIONS AND THE WAY OUT. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1915. 128 p. 75 cts.

Prize essay of the "Church Peace Union."

Babson, Roger W.—THE FUTURE OF WORLD PEACE. A book of charts and economic facts for Americans. Boston, Babson's Statistical Organization (Incorporated). 1915. 142 p. 75 cts.

A well-written and interesting book, but over-emphasizing the economic causes of war, and their removal as a factor in establishing peace.

Benson, Allan L.—A WAY TO PREVENT WAR. Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas, 1915. 180 p. \$1.00

A sincere statement of the case against war from the Socialist viewpoint, proposing a war-referendum by the people in order to prevent war and opposing the "capitalist peace movement," but rather limited in its outlook upon the complexity of the problems involved in pacifism.

Brailsford, Henry Noel.—THE WAR OF STEEL AND GOLD: A Study of the Armed Peace. London, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1914. 317 p.

Cheap edition, with an additional chapter and appendix. London, 1915. 2 s. net (50 cts.)

This book, published a few months before the outbreak of the war, deals very effectively with the madness of the political situation of Europe with its Balance of Power and Armed Peace, from the pacifist viewpoint. "It is not enough to desire peace. The generation which attains peace will have won it by an intellectual passion. . . . Let a people once perceive for what purpose its patriotism is prostituted and its resources misused, and the end is already in sight." The author does not believe in the use of force for the establishment of a Federal League of Nations. He says: "By force and threats we shall never constitute a League that will have the loyalty and devotion of Europe behind it. Its success must depend on the advantages it offers."

Cannon, Walter B.—BODILY CHANGES IN PAIN, HUNGER, FEAR AND RAGE. An account of recent researches into the function of emotional excitement. New York and London, D. Appleton & Co., 1915. xiii and 311 p.

\$2.00 net.

Contains a very interesting final chapter on "alternative satisfactions for the fighting emotions."

Crane, Frank.—WAR AND WORLD GOVERNMENT. New York, John Lane Company, 1915. \$1.00

A volume of Peace editorials, advocating an International Peace Court commanding the armies and navies of the world.

Eliot, Charles W.—THE ROAD TOWARD PEACE: A Contribution to the study of the causes of the European War and of the means of preventing War in the Future. pp. XIV, 228. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1915. Net, \$1.00

This little volume consists of a number of addresses, letters and reports of the distinguished President Emeritus of Harvard University.

Fayle, C. Ernest.—THE GREAT SETTLEMENT. With a prefatory note by Viscount Esher. With maps. London, W., John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1915.

American edition: New York, Duffield & Company, 1915. 309 p. \$1.50

The first and so far the most complete book attempting "to present a survey of the problems of the war and the settlement as a whole and to found upon that survey an inquiry into the practical prospects of establishing some such understanding between the European nations as shall preserve us from a repetition of the events of last summer." The value of this very able book consists in the thorough application of pacifist theories to the issues of the present war and forms a good starting point for the discussion of the tremendous problems involved in spite of the author's untimely anticipation of the complete victory of the Allies. It is interesting to note that this author comes to the conclusion that finally peace will only be secured by some form of international force, a similar contention as held by the League to Enforce Peace. The seven chapters of the book have the following titles: I. The necessity of a settlement. II. The origins of the War. III. The principles of the settlement. IV. The territorial problems of the settlement. V. Colonial questions of the settlement. VI. Economic factors of the settlement. VII. The Europe of to-morrow.

Fried, Alfred H.—EUROPÄISCHE WIEDERHERSTELLUNG. Zurich (Switzerland), Orell und Füssli, 1915. 139 p. 50 cts.

This book dealing with the problem of the restoration of Europe after the War is a well-written application of pacifism to the issues of the war by the prominent German peace worker. He argues that in the complicated conditions of modern life, the international anarchy which has characterized the relations of states made war sooner or later inevitable; and that wars can only be avoided by international organization. As a first step he suggests the formation of a European Cooperative Union (Zweckverband), modelled after the Pan-American Union but more active, which would tend to a realization of the actual interdependence of the nations. An English translation by Lewis S. Gannett will appear early in 1916.

Gulick, Sidney L.—THE FIGHT FOR PEACE: An aggressive campaign for American churches. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1915. 192 p. 75 cts.

An appeal to the churches to take part in promoting world-peace. The book contains interesting chapters on the relations between the United States and the far East, Asiatic immigration, admission and naturalization of aliens.

Hansbrough, Henry Clay.—WAR AND WOMAN: An exposition of man's failure as a harmonizer. New York, Duffield & Co., 1915. 121 p. \$1.00

What the title indicates. The author advocates the reliance upon women to prevent wars, the abolishment of the Monroe Doctrine and the contraction of alliances and peace treaties for national safety.

Hirst, Francis W.—THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WAR.
E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1915. 327 p. \$2.00

In this book the editor of *The Economist*, of London, gives an excellent economic history of the chief wars of the last 200 years, including the present war. It is particularly suitable for the study of the economics of war in general, war-loans, etc.

Hobson, John A.—TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT.
216 p. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Ruskin House, 40
Museum Street, London, W. C., 1915.
American Edition: The Macmillan Co., New York, 1915.
216 p. \$1.00

One of the best discussions published in book-form on Constructive Peace and problems like: A League of Peace, A Basis of Confederation, International Court and Council, International Force, Economic Boycott, The Social Contract of Nations, etc. "At the present stage it is of paramount importance to try to get the largest number of thoughtful people to form clear, general ideas of better international relations and to desire their attainment" (from the preface).

Jefferson, Charles Edward.—CHRISTIANITY AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE: Six lectures at Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, in February, 1915, on the George A. Gates Memorial Foundation. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1915. 287 p. Net, \$1.25

A very vigorous presentment of the peace problem well worth reading. I quote but a few sentences: "The longer one ponders the matter, the more mysterious it becomes that professing Christians have never in the mass taken a bold stand against war." . . . "The principle of union of church and state has worked disastrously in Christian history." . . . "The church in all lands has failed lamentably to do its full duty." . . . "For many years the impotency of organized Christianity in the realm of world politics has been an open scandal."

ordan, David Starr.—WAR AND THE BREED, The Relation of War to the Downfall of Nations. Boston, The Beacon Press, 1915. 265 p. \$1.35

This book is perhaps the finest and most concise work of the well-known biologist, educator, pacifist and chancellor of Leland Stanford Jr. University. "The certainty that war leads toward racial decadence by the obliteration of the most

virile elements, these being thereby left unrepresented in heredity, is becoming widely accepted as the crucial argument against the War System of the World." The same topic has been treated by the author in two previous books, "The Blood of the Nation" and "The Human Harvest," but the present volume has been entirely rewritten. A special chapter with the title "Does Human Nature Change?" is especially instructive to all those who indulge in the fatalistic belief in the unchangeability of human nature and the consequent futility of the peace movement.

—THE WAYS TO LASTING PEACE. Presidential address delivered at the International Peace Congress, held at San Francisco, October 10-13, 1915. Indianapolis, Bobbs Merrill Company, 1916. 75 cts.

A survey and analysis of the various peace programs proposed for a permanent settlement of the War.

Krehbiel, Edward B.—WAR AND SOCIETY. (Will be published early in 1916.)

A systematic statement in synopsis form of I. the present competitive system of nations with its concomitant merits, weaknesses and fallacies; II. the transformation of civilization in certain particulars which fundamentally alter the function of force; and, III. the various projects and forces seeking to remodel society so as to eliminate the faults of our present system and to bring it into agreement with modern civilization. Each section is accompanied by references to the best literature. The book is designed as an introduction to the study of the whole anti-war movement, and is for the use of college classes, international polity clubs, peace study clubs, Women's Clubs, and for all who wish to familiarize themselves with this subject.

League to Enforce Peace (American Branch). Printed by the League to Enforce Peace, 507 Fifth Avenue, New York City, 1915. 65 p.

This little volume contains the speeches and addresses made at the Independence Hall Conference held at Philadelphia, Bunker Hill day (June 17th, 1915), the Platform and a History of the Conference, written by William H. Short, Secretary. The President of the League is William Howard Taft. The main new phase of this movement is that the members of the proposed League of nations "shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war, or commits acts of hostility, against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration and recommendation.

Lippmann, Walter.—THE STAKES OF DIPLOMACY. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1915. 235 p. Net, \$1.25

This book is an extremely well-written discussion of the relations between nationalism, commercial interests and diplomacy. In his criticism of the pacifist movement the author, however, is not entirely just. The notion that the weak backward state is the "chief cause of international friction because of its temptation to imperialism" is interesting but not in accordance with facts as regarded by scientific pacifism. To call those who proposed concrete improvements in the diplomacy about Africa, etc., "the true peacemakers" and practically to ignore all other causes of war, like the prevailing philosophy of force or the armaments of the great powers with the resulting fear, distrust and rivalry, shows the author's limited outlook upon the complexity of the problems of war and peace in spite of his versatile brilliancy.

Lynch, Frederick.—THE LAST WAR: A Study of Things Present and Things to Come. 118 p. 75 cts.

—THE PEACE PROBLEM: The Task of the Twentieth Century. With an introduction by Andrew Carnegie. 127 p. 75 cts.

Both volumes published by Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1915.

These two little books of the Secretary of the Church Peace Union constitute a very valuable contribution to the peace literature, especially from the viewpoint of the Christian Church.

MacKaye, Percy.—A SUBSTITUTE FOR WAR. With an introduction by Irving Fisher and with prefatory letters by Viscount Bryce and Norman Angell. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915. 55 p. 50 cts.

"In order to make peace more 'handsome' than war and to create a more magnificent symbol for peace than the 'anaemic peace-dove' the author suggests in a strikingly interesting manner that the 'moral equivalent' of war can be made fascinating and effectual by utilizing (and perhaps only by utilizing) the dynamic arts of the theatre to give it symbolic expression."

Marshall, Henry Rutgers.—WAR AND THE IDEAL OF PEACE: A Study of those characteristics of man that result in War, and of the means by which they may be controlled. New York, Duffield & Co., 1915. 234 p. \$1.25 net

The author deals with the "mysteries" leading to war. "If man is to gain in real nobility he must at all hazards learn to curb his fighting tendencies by the full control of all that

makes for war; and that is for us an urgent duty to use our every effort to enforce the acceptance of the very broadest form of the Ideal of Peace."

Mitchell, P. Chalmers.—EVOLUTION AND THE WAR. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1915. 144 p. \$1.00

The "natural law of evolution" is frequently mentioned among the supposed fundamental causes of war. In this book a leading English biologist undertakes to show that this militaristic belief is wrong and that the laws governing human conduct are entirely different.

Nasmyth, George W.—SOCIAL PROGRESS AND THE DARWINIAN THEORY: A Study of Force as a Factor in Human Relations. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915. \$1.50

A critical study of the philosophy of force which claims to find a scientific foundation in the application to human society of Darwin's theory of "the struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest," etc. This so-called "Social Darwinism," the belief that collective homicide is the cause of human progress, however, is in direct contradiction to the ideas of Darwin himself, who bases his whole theory of social progress upon justice and the moral law.

The author predicts an intellectual revolution as the result of the war, which is demonstrating the economic, social, and moral futility of force to promote the welfare of nations. He points out the immense advance which may be expected through the overthrow of the philosophy of force and the establishment of a true theory of human relationships, in accordance with the social philosophy of Darwin, Kropotkin, and Novicow.

Perris, G. H.—THE WAR TRADERS. National Peace Council, 167 St. Stephen's House, Westminster, London, S. W.; The Chancery Lane Press, Rolls Passage, E. C., 1914. 168 p. Obtainable from the American Peace Society, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C. Postpaid, 30 cts.

A remarkable little volume showing the tremendous influence of armament-firms and war-traders on politics, preparedness and war-scares. In the preface the author says: "War does not pay the nations. But war panics and preparations do, all the time and on an enormous scale, pay powerful groups of men in each nation; and it may be doubted whether any real peace will be achieved till this association of political power and the private trade in arms is broken." This book was published a short time before the outbreak of the war. It is the first full account of the interconnection between war-traders, armament-manufacture and private profit and government and stimulated patriotism.

The armament problem and problems like the nationalization or internationalization of armament- and ammunition-

factories and the question of international war-trade has already during the war proved to be one of the most important questions, and will be so far more in the future, especially in the United States. This excellent study is therefore indispensable for anybody working for peace or even desirously to understand what forces have been at work in bringing about the present war.

Plater, Charles.—A PRIMER OF PEACE AND WAR. The principles of international morality. Edited for the Catholic Social Guild, New York. P. J. Kenedy Sons, 44 Barclay St., 1915. 282 p. 80 cts.

An "exposition of the Catholic doctrine on war," "rejecting alike the extremes of militarism and pacifism." The book amounts to little more than a general discussion of "international morality" without pacifistic conviction or vision. The author maintains that "there 'must' occur from time to time instances of unjust and obstinate invasions of genuine rights," and that war "remains the final means of preventing earth from becoming a pandemonium and humanity from lapsing into the brute."

Ritter, William E.—WAR, SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION. Boston, Sherman French & Co., 1915. 125 p. \$1.00

A condemnation of War as being "unscientific." The author, a biologist at the University of California, suggests "a peaceful reapportionment of territorial possessions on the basis of each nation's actual needs"—overlooking, however, the fact that with the establishment of a real peace nations will probably no more feel any need for territorial expansion than does the State of New York to-day.

Shumaker, E. Ellsworth, Ph.D.—THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE WAY TO PEACE. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915. 110 p. 75 cts.

A very ably written volume making plain that with the present war civilization is at stake. "We should not only pray for peace but do something at the same time. Prayer without action does not amount to very much."

Walling, William English.—THE SOCIALISTS AND THE WAR. New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1915. 500 p. \$1.50 net.

"A carefully selected documentary statement of the position toward the war of Socialists of all countries. This book explains to the careful pacifist why it is that Socialism, "the only people's peace-movement," which "supports a war of defense but not a war of aggression" is bound to fail whenever a government chooses to tell its people that a war is "defensive."

Wehberg, Hans.—DAS PAPSTTUM UND DER WELTFRIEDE: Untersuchungen über die weltpolitischen Aufgaben und die völkerrechtliche Stellung des Papsttums. M.-Gladbach (Germany) Volksvereins-Verlag, 1915. 131 p. M1.80 (50 cts.)

A study of the rôle of the Papacy in the cause of world peace.

Woods, Frederick Adams and Baltzly, Alexander.—IS WAR DIMINISHING? A study of the Prevalence of War in Europe from 1450 to the present day. Boston, Mass., Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915. 105 p. \$1.00 net.

A rather interesting and careful study showing by lengthy statistics and graphical charts that the number of wars is diminishing; the arithmetic procedure of simply "counting up the years of war for each half-century," however, cannot be accepted as a scientific treatment of the subject.

WAR OBIATED BY AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1915. 223 p.

An interesting collection of essays and opinions on pacifism by various European and American authors.

PROBLEMS OF READJUSTMENT AFTER THE WAR. By various authors. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1915. 186 p. \$1.00 net.

Contents: I.—The War and Democracy, by *Albert B. Hart*; II.—An Economic Interpretation of War, by *Edwin R. A. Seligman*; III.—The Crisis in Social Evolution, by *Franklin H. Giddings*; IV.—The Relation of the Individual to the State, by *Westel W. Willoughby*; V.—The War and International Law, by *George Grafton Wilson*; VI.—The War and International Commerce and Finance, by *Emory R. Johnson*; VII.—The Conduct of Military and Naval Warfare, by *Casper F. Goodrich*.

REPORT OF THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, May 19, 20 and 21, 1915. Published by the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, Mohonk Lake, N. Y., 1915. 196 p.

Can be obtained from The American Peace Society, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C., for the price of the postage.

FICTION AND DRAMA

Brownell, Atherton.—THE UNSEEN EMPIRE. A peace play in four acts. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1914. 77 p. \$1.50

Dix, Beulah Marie.—THE MOLOCH. Somerset Publishing Co., Boston, Mass., 1915.

An impressive war-play showing the entire futility of War, its horrors and irrelevance as a determiner.

Newton, W Douglas.—WAR. Preface by Robert Hugh Benson and introduction by Rudyard Kipling. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1915. 236 p. \$1.50

A horrible story of war.

Noyes, Alfred.—RADA: A Drama of War in One Act. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York, Oct., 1914. 31 p. 60 cts.

Palmer, Frederick. THE LAST SHOT. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1914. 517 p. \$1.50

An excellently written War-story.

Trask, Katrina. IN THE VANGUARD. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1913. 148 p. 75 cts.

An impressive three-act peace play.

Wentworth, Marion Craig. WAR BRIDES. Century Publishing Company, New York, 1915. 75 cts.

One of the most impressive and successful war-plays, acted by Madam Nazimova.

PERIODICALS AND MAGAZINES

1. THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE. Official organ of the American Peace Society, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C. Annual subscription, including membership of American Peace Society. \$1.00
2. BLÄTTER FÜR ZWISCHENSTAATLICHE ORGANISATION, published by Dr. Alfred H. Fried, Zürich, Orell Füssli & Co., monthly War-edition of the "Friedenswarthe," formerly published in Germany. Annual subscription, \$1.00
3. THE INDEPENDENT, Weekly Magazine (Editor Hamilton Holt), 119 W. 40th Street, New York City. Annual subscription, \$3.00
Gives valuable records of the war and has been prominent in promoting the idea of a "Peace League of Nations."
4. THE NEW REPUBLIC: A Journal of Opinion. Published weekly (421 West 21st Street, New York City). Annual subscription, \$4.00
Contains excellent comments on the war and valuable contributions on constructive pacifist thought.
5. "WAR AND PEACE." Published in London, S. W., 29 Charing Cross, by "War and Peace, Ltd." Post free, \$1.00 a year
6. INTERNATIONAL POLITY NEWS. Issued monthly by The Federation of International Polity Clubs, 40 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.
7. THE COSMOPOLITAN STUDENT: Official Organ of the Cor-
da Fratres Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs. Published monthly during the academic year. 38 Crescent Street, Cambridge, Mass. Annual subscription, \$1.00

For other Peace-Periodicals and Magazines see: *Internationalism*, a list of current periodicals selected and annotated by *Frederick C. Hicks*. American Association for International Conciliation, Substation 84, New York City.
Free on application.

PAMPHLETS

I. Pamphlets issued by the *Dutch Committee "The European Federation"* (may be obtained free from Nico van Suchtelen, Secretary, Blaricum, Netherlands).

1. THE ONLY SOLUTION: A EUROPEAN FEDERATION.

2. EUROPE UNITED.

(Both by Nico van Suchtelen.)

3. TO THE CITIZENS OF THE BELLIGERENT STATES.
By Prof. G. Hymans, Ph.D.

II. Pamphlets published by *The Union of Democratic Control*, 37 Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W. C.:

No. I.—THE MORROW OF THE WAR. Explaining the Policy of the Union.

No. II.—SHALL THIS WAR END GERMAN MILITARISM?
By Norman Angell.

No. III.—WAR—THE OFFSPRING OF FEAR. By Hon. Bertrand Russell.

No. IV.—THE ORIGINS OF THE GREAT WAR. By H. N. Brailsford.

No. V.—PARLIAMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY. By Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.

No. VI.—THE NATIONAL POLICY.

No. VII.—THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRY OF WAR.

No. VIII.—WAR AND THE WORKERS. By J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.

No. IX.—WHY WE SHOULD STATE TERMS OF SETTLEMENT.

No. X.—TOWARDS AN INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.
Being the opinions of some allied and neutral writers.

No. XI.—WOMEN AND WAR. By H. M. Swanwick.

No. XII.—THE POLISH QUESTION. By A Pole.

No. XIII.—THE PRUSSIAN IN OUR MIDST. By Norman Angell.

No. XIV.—THE BALANCE OF POWER.

Price 1d. each post free, 1½d.

III. War and Peace Pamphlets:

1. CAN TRADE BE CAPTURED? By Norman Angell.
2. WHAT ABOUT NORMAN ANGELL Now? By Gerald Roberts.

May be obtained from The Manager, War and Peace, Ltd., 29 Charing Cross, London, S.W. 1d. each

IV. Pamphlets published by the German Union New Fatherland (Bund "Neues Vaterland"), Berlin, W. 50 Tauentzienstr. 9.

A series of 8 pamphlets in German, opposing the spirit of hatred and of conquest and working for a Federation of Nations on the basis of equal rights, freedom and justice.

V. Pamphlets published by the *Church Peace Union*, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York:

1. THE CAUSE OF WAR. By Rev. Chas. E. Jefferson, D.D.
2. THE MIDNIGHT CRY. By Rt. Rev. David H. Greer, D.D.
3. THE SCOURGE OF MILITARISM. By Rev. Peter Ainslie, D.D.
4. EUROPE'S WAR, AMERICA'S WARNING. By Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D.
5. THE WAY TO DISARM. By Hamilton Holt, LL.D.
6. THE CHURCH'S MISSION AS TO WAR AND PEACE. By Junius B. Remensnyder, D.D., LL.D.
7. MIGHT OR MEEKNESS. By Rev. William Pierson Merrill, D.D.
8. THE CHURCH AND THE IDEAL. By Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D.
9. AMERICA AND THE ASIATIC WORLD. By Prof. Shailer Mathews.
10. AMERICA, CHRISTIANITY AND PEACE; A NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE; THE TRIUMPHS OF PEACE; THE ADVANTAGES OF ARBITRATION. By James Cardinal Gibbons.

IN PREPARATION:

1. AFTER THE WAR—WHAT? By Rev. Francis E. Clark, D.D.
2. THE UNITED CHURCH AND THE TERMS OF PEACE. By Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D.
3. ADEQUATE ARMAMENTS. By Prof. William I. Hull.

VI. *Pamphlet Series on THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM.* By Jay William Hudson. Published by Massachusetts Peace Society, 31 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., 1915:

1. WHAT IS THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM?
2. THE ARITHMETIC OF WAR.
3. AGENCIES FOR PROMOTING WORLD ORDER.
4. A PRACTICAL INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM.
5. AMERICA'S INTERNATIONAL IDEALS.

These pamphlets have been prepared especially for those who wish a comprehensive statement in simple language of what the International Peace movement of to-day means. They are particularly adapted for Reading Circles. Single copies five cents. Price in quantities on application.

VII. Pamphlet published by the American League to Limit Armaments, 43 Cedar Street, New York City.

MOBILIZE AGAINST MILITARISM IN AMERICA: Memorandum of Points in Opposition to the Increase of the Army and Navy of the United States at the present time.

VIII. Pamphlets and leaflets published by the American Peace Society, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

A list of the publications of the American Peace Society will be sent free on application.

IX. Pamphlets and leaflets published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.

X. Pamphlets published by the American Association for International Conciliation; Substation 84 (407 West 117th Street), New York City.

Nos. 1-85 (April, 1907, to December, 1914). Including papers by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, George Trumbull Ladd, Elihu Root, Barrett Wendell, Charles E. Jefferson, Seth Low, William James, Andrew Carnegie, Pope Pius X, Heinrich Lammash, Norman Angell, Charles W. Eliot, Sir Oliver Lodge, Lord Haldane and others. A list of titles and authors will be sent on application.

83. Official Documents Bearing upon the European War. Series I.

- I. The Austro-Hungarian Note to Servia.
- II. The Servian Reply.
- III. The British White Paper.
- IV. The German White Book. October, 1914.

84. Additional Official Documents Bearing upon the European War. Series II.

- I. Speech of the Imperial Chancellor to Reichstag, August 4, 1914.
- II. Speech of the Prime Minister to House of Commons, August 6, 1914.
- III. The Russian Orange Book.
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—League to Enforce Peace. William H. Taft, President, W. H. Short, Secretary, 507 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

—Woman's Peace Party. Jane Addams, President, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

ENGLAND.—Union of Democratic Control, Kings Chambers, London, W. C.

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PREFATORY NOTE

Eduard Bernstein is one of the foremost members of the Social Democratic Party in Germany, a veteran author and publicist, an international figure. Born in Berlin sixty-six years ago, the son of a locomotive engineer, he attended the Prussian schools and from 1866 to 1878 held various positions in a bank. Becoming a Social Democrat in 1872—the year following the proclamation of the present German Empire—he was made to feel the weight of the rigorously repressive laws which Bismarck directed against the Socialists from 1878 to 1890. Practically exiled from his own country, Bernstein lived from 1878 to 1888 in Switzerland. Thence expelled through the efforts of Bismarck, he took up his residence in London. From 1881 to 1890 he edited the *Social Democrat*, and for many years he has contributed largely to *Neue Zeit* and other publications of the German Social Democracy.

It was a series of articles by Bernstein in *Neue Zeit* in 1898 which proved epochal in the history of Socialism. In brief, Bernstein demanded that the Social Democrats cut loose from the dogmas of Karl Marx. He frankly rejected the Marxian conception of history as inadequate to explain modern social evolution; he regarded the Marxian labor theory of value as untenable; and through careful statistical studies he endeavored to show that the notion of Marx regarding the extinction of the middle class through concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer hands had been disproven by the course of events. Against Karl Kantsky and the dominant school of German Socialists, he urged all the democratic elements in his country to work together for the democratization of the German Empire and the securing of radical social reforms.

Though assailed by Kantsky, Bernstein was suffered to remain within the Social Democratic Party and his right to disagree with Karl Marx was actually upheld. In 1901 he returned to Germany, and in 1902 was elected a member of the Reichstag as a representative from Breslau. Losing his seat in 1907—the year in which the Emperor William II and the Chancellor von Bülow made their great appeal to the country on the issue of colonialism and world politics—he was triumphantly re-elected in 1912.

Bernstein has published almost innumerable articles and books. Two books—his edition of the speeches and writings of Ferdinand Lassalle and his attack on Marxism—have been translated into English. Since the beginning of the present war, Bernstein has co-operated with Kantsky and Liebknecht in opposing the annexation to Germany of any newly conquered territory.

Gaylord Bros.
Makers
Syracuse, N. Y.
PAT. JAN. 21, 1888



